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435 a scale of value which does not vary, but in the case of pigs,
556 where there is variation, the social incentive is not to pay the least amount, but rather to pay the biggest price and increase one's prestige thereby.

437 Pigs are the most usual objects of trade, and so we will
527 consider their buying and selling in detail. They are almost always purchased in connection with some ritual feast—mortuary, marriage, etc. If it is a very large ritual feast, such as a *malanggan* one, preparations are begun a long time in advance. Perhaps ten months before the rite a preliminary feast will be held to make the arrangements. At this time the buyers and sellers of pigs for the future feast are designated. The man who will buy a pig gives a bundle of baked sago to the man who will later sell it to him. But this does not happen haphazardly at the feast, and for a week before one such feast which I witnessed the men were busy every evening discussing the details of the arrangements.

437 Then months later, when the ritual feast is held, the pigs are there and payment is made for them after the feast is over. When the men come out of the cemetery, where most feasts are held, the sale is concluded before all the men and women of the community assembled in the open compound. The man making the payment holds up a string of *tsera* and makes a short speech, naming the person to whom he is paying it. The *tsera* is held outstretched, one man at each end, so that everyone can see the amount. It is then handed over to the man or woman who sold the pig. Payments for all objects, such as fishing-nets, ornaments, etc., are always made in public in this manner, for which the natives give two reasons. First, everyone has witnessed the transaction and seen that it is all right; secondly, everyone knows what has been paid for the object, and should the owner want to resell it, he must get the same amount. It is a registration of the transaction. There is thus no buying or selling for profit.

432 Objects are always resold for exactly what they cost, and

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profit, as known in our society, does not exist. A man might, if he liked, sell it for less, but never for more.

The payment of *tsera* does not end the transaction. The purchase of a pig is itself a reciprocal matter. That is, suppose a man, whom we will call A, buys a pig for the mortuary feast of his maternal uncle from B. A pays *tsera* to B for it in the manner just described. Now at some future time, when a relative of B dies, he will in turn buy a pig from A., to whom he will pay *tsera*. Thus the purchaser of a pig is obligated to sell a pig at some future time to the same person from whom he is now buying. There is thus no class of people who buy as opposed to those who sell. Everyone is in turn both a buyer and a seller. One must not make a mistake in etiquette and ask a man for a return pig before the appropriate occasion, such as a mortuary feast, arises. Even then it is not asked for, but the man brings the pig of his own accord. Not to observe this etiquette is much more than just being in bad form, but outrages all tradition, as is illustrated by the following incident which I witnessed. About a year ago Kadecka sold a pig to Garrili, his wife's maternal uncle, when the latter was making a mortuary feast. The proper time for Garrili to sell a pig to Kadecka would be when Kadecka's mother dies. She is old and feeble and her death is expected. But before it happens Kadecka quarrelled with his wife, Lolo, and in the heat of anger told her to go and tell her maternal uncle Garrili that it was time he returned the pig. Lolo ran away from her husband's house to Garrili's house and told him what her husband had said. Garrili, very much on his dignity, immediately came with a pig for Kadecka. This may sound like a small affair, but not so to the natives. It was as if a cyclone had struck the village. The whole place was in an uproar over what was considered Kadecka's scandalous behaviour. Groups gathered everywhere and denounced him in no uncertain terms. As the pig was there, a ritual feast had to be made for it, and Kadecka

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had to borrow the *tsera* from his clan relatives to pay Garrili for the pig. When the feast was held, Kadecka was so ashamed of his hasty action that he stayed in the house most of the time, but all of his relatives and many other people from the village, as well as Garrili, were there. The latter stood up and made a speech, telling how he had been asked by Kadecka for the pig, remarking that he had planned to bring it when Kadecka's old mother died, but Kadecka had asked for it, and so here it was. Then one by one the important old men made speeches condemning Kadecka's action. They asked sternly why Kadecka did not wait until his mother died. He made no defence for his inexcusable action.

The whole affair caused a great deal of gossip, and public opinion was unanimous in condemning Kadecka. A week later he "signed on" when a recruiter for native labour came through the village, and no one expressed any regret when he left. It was obviously an escape from an intolerable social position.

Besides pigs, other objects, such as ornaments, spears, drums, and canoes, are sold for set prices which never vary, and the payments are made in public. These objects, however, do not form the ordinary objects of trade; first, because sometimes they are inherited, and, secondly, because one such object, like an ornament, a drum, a spear, lasts a lifetime. Pigs, on the other hand, are constantly being sold because they are eaten continually at ritual feasts.

PAYMENTS FOR SERVICES

It is obvious that one cannot accumulate wealth through trading in pigs or any other objects, for there is no profit. But the rendering of services, magical or otherwise, that is another story. The possession of magic is the most important source of wealth. Among these people magic is all powerful

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423 614 People enjoying the use of land belonging to a sub-group different from their own invariably make presents of food and coco-nuts at different times to the owners of the land.

614 So widely distributed sometimes are the members of the sub-groups, that it is no uncommon thing during the investigation of a land-matter to find claimants living in villages a great distance from the ground in question.

428 In one pedigree investigated at Madina a man of that place named Arakai, inherited the ground and personal belongings of his father, who had no sister. Arakai also inherited the ground and belongings of his mother's brother, Aulim, although Aulim had a son. The property inherited from Aulim, however, was shared with the son. Usually before he dies, a man makes known his wishes regarding the disposition of property. Arakai, who has no children, has already [562] told every one that on his death Tapua, the son of his sister, is to have his land and property. Women also appear to inherit ground.

In Letatan, a bush group living below Lassu, it was said that property is inherited by own children and sister's children.

During a land investigation at Lasigi and Konagnusgnus payment for land sold to a European was claimed by surviving members of the sub-group of the deceased land-owners. In all these cases claimants proved genealogical relationship. Shares in the payment were also claimed by the children and grandchildren of the dead men and the grandchildren of their brothers (these deceased land-owners had no sisters).

423 432 In a land investigation held at Lassu for the purpose of buying a piece of land that the natives had agreed to sell, the following information was collected.

614 The area involved was owned by eight different sub-groups, each of which held one portion. A portion known as Pari was owned by the sub-group Pari; Langhalu was owned by Pagali sub-group; Kanawi was owned by Samkila sub-group; Roroi was owned by Roroi sub-group (the survivors of which lived at Langinia); Panula was owned by Sililia sub-group; Dangkolong was owned by Mauga sub-group; Mimilnat was owned by Solemba sub-group, and Lanluminandigo was owned by Tupila sub-group.

The surviving members of these sub-groups claimed payment. Some of them lived in villages many miles away from the ground, but all of them proved genealogical relationship with persons about three generations back to whom the various portions then belonged. Other claimants belonging to sub-groups different from those said to be the owners, and many belonging even to the opposite clan, then appeared, contending that, as their ancestors or parents had been permitted by the early owners to plant food or economic trees on various lots within

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the portions concerned—a privilege which they and their descendants would now lose—they too were entitled to some compensation. A discussion of the position was held in the presence of the principal men of the villages concerned, and the methods of payment were arranged as follow:— 423 A 432 614

The recognized principal man of each sub-group was to receive the full amount of payment for the portion sold. This was to be distributed by him among the members of the sub-group; they in turn would then share it with the members of other sub-groups and the members of the opposite clan, who by the sale had been deprived of the privileges granted to their ancestors and parents by the former owners.

During another investigation made at Fatmilak into the distribution of moneys paid by the Government some time ago for the purchase of land in that district, I found confirmation of the rules laid down at the Lassu discussion. The full amount of purchase money had been divided by the principal men among the surviving members of the sub-groups owning the land sold; each of these persons in turn had fulfilled the obligations incurred (gifts of garden land, &c.) by the earlier owners. For this purpose payment of a share of the moneys received was made to each of the members of the other sub-groups and people of the opposite clan, who by the sale of the ground had been deprived of the privileges granted to their ancestors and parents.

In all of these transactions the children of a man shared with the sister's children.

A further distribution on similar lines will take place at Madina when the Madina plantation land is eventually paid for. The ownership of this land was investigated by me, and the following information was recorded. This should be checked by the District Officer when the purchase is being made:—

MADINA LAND.

Portion Tauoro—Belongs to clan Haruk, sub-group, Panawotlas. Principal men: Milalang of Madina; Kamat of Fatmilak; Rombui, female of Fatmilak. In this transaction it is said that Milalang will distribute the purchase money among the Madina members of the Haruk clan who are entitled to it, and the two Fatmilak members of the same clan. These people will then share the money with other persons entitled to compensation.

Portion Panabakbak—Belonging to Mangaf clan, sub-group, Pailik. Principal men: Agot of Madina; Pitilot of Lugagan; Mamoka and Bawas (both of Madina who will distribute purchase money among the persons entitled).

Portion Monariba.—Belonging to clan Arigaum, sub-groups, Tabik and Mabu. Principal men: Kunak of Tabar and Tamela of Madina. In this case Kunak being absent Tamela will receive the purchase money, and will distribute it as required.

Portion Panagaramut—Belonging to clan Adau, sub-group, Panalile. Principal man, Bato of Madina, who will receive the purchase money and distribute it.

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423 Porton Nosi—Belonging to clan Balus, sub-group, Lamis. Principal man, Arkai of Madina and later of Laraibin, who will receive the purchase money and
●432 distribute it according to custom.
614 Portion Porokalaman—Belonging to clan Babanga, sub-group, Savinu. Principal man, Lamani of Madina, who will receive the purchase money and distribute it in accordance with custom. In this case the Luluai of Luaupul and Arakai of Madina are entitled to a share as compensation for gifts of ground made by the original owners to their ancestors and parents, the Luluai of Luaupul being the son of the sister of Lombu, the last owner of the ground. Lombu, before he died, permitted the father of Arakai to plant and use part of the ground.

Portion Seladara—Belonging to Mununga̱k clan. Principal man, Kauavek of Madina, who will distribute it among the people entitled. In this case, two women of Lugagun share in the purchase money.

Portion Lemagaf—Belonging to clan Arigaum. Names of principal men not given.

Portion Naberabera—Belonging to clan Balus. Names of principal men not given.

The last two portions belong to people of Luaupul, who were not present at the inquiry, and regarding whose ownership the people of Madina were unable to give me particulars.

142 Physically the people of the East coast are of medium height and robust build. They are woolly-haired and brown-eyed; the skin colour varies from light to dark brown, many being almost black; usually the cheek bones are prominent; in many cases the nose is concave and deep-rooted below prominent brow ridges, but a straight or convex nose is frequently seen. There is little prognathism. Many of the men and women are distinctly pleasant faced. Usually the hair is
[302] bleached with lime, and worn fairly short in well-combed frizzy mops. In the vicinity of Kandan I saw bald-headed old men wearing neatly made wigs of human hair twisted into short ringlets. There are many
[143] fair-haired people with brick-red skin who were said to have been born thus, and two or three cases of true albinism were found.

226 The coastal people fish with spears, nets and lines. In many places they go out into deep water in canoes, and catch sharks by the noose and rattle method that has been described before. Shark fishing expeditions are attended with considerable magical preparation. Representations of sharks appear in the carved portions of the canoe. Small fish for bait are caught secretly at night "so that sharks will not know what is threatening them." No one but the fisherman sees this going on. The operation involves certain sacrifices on the part of those engaged in it, such as food tabu, keeping away from women, &c. The expedition starts at break of dawn, before any one else is awake. The canoe men watch their opportunity and shoot out through the breakers. They make their way right out to sea looking for timber and drift wood washed out by the rains. Here small fish gather together in large numbers and attract the sharks. The rattles are sounded and the sharks thinking it is the noise made by sea birds